

BAPTISTS IN SCOTLAND DURING THE COMMONWEALTH

BY THE REV. JAMES SCOTT, PH.D.

Ι

THE first Baptist Church in England was founded in 1611, but many years elapsed before a community was established in Scotland. Although there was constant communication between the two countries, the cause was very slow in moving northward. Presbyterian soil was by no means congenial to the growth of its ideas of Church independence, toleration, and baptism, and the leaders of Church and State took precautionary measures against it. A royal proclamation of 1624, prohibiting conventicles for hearing deprived Presbyterian ministers, aimed also at the prevention of Anabaptist and other sects.¹

At a later date, Robert Baillie was apprehensive of the spread of Baptist views to Scotland, and instructed his correspondents to do what they could to oppose them. In a letter from London to Robert Blair in 1644, he mentioned that "the most part of Lord Manchester's army had been seduced to independency, and many have added anabaptism," and as it had been joined by the Scots army, he was afraid that many Scots soldiers would be "in danger of being infected by their company." In the following year he wrote to William Spang, minister at Campvere, asking him to "entreat his friend Vossius to print what he told me he had read against the Anabaptists, the greatest and most prevalent sect here." In 1647 Baillie published his famous book on Anabaptism, and circulated it in Scotland in the hope of preventing the diffusion of Baptist doctrine. He cites all its "errours," such as separation, independency, baptism by immersion, and republicanism, so that his readers might take warning.

In the same year the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland became alarmed at the spread of "Anabaptisme" in England,⁴ for they considered that it and other sectarian views would hinder the work of the Reformation, especially the influence of the Solemn League

¹ Calderwood: History, VII, p. 612.

³ Ibid., II, p. 327.

² Baillie: Letters, II, p. 185.

⁴ Acts of Assembly (1647), pp. 4, 5.

and Covenant. In a "Declaration and Brotherly Exhortation" which they addressed to their brethren in England, they urged them to "hold fast to the profession of their faith without wavering, against the many heresies and errors of these times." 1 While the "Exhortation" obviously referred to England, it also showed that such doctrines would not be welcomed in Scotland. Notwithstanding the attitude of Scottish churchmen, and the precautions taken, however, Baptist principles eventually found their way north, and those who accepted them were formed into societies and congregations.2

There was no definite movement, however, until the middle of the seventeenth century. The coming of the English army provided a favourable opportunity for Baptist propaganda, for the government of the Commonwealth favoured religious toleration, and there were many Baptist officers and men in the English army. In 1652 the Commonwealth Parliament issued a Declaration in which it said it would encourage preaching the Gospel, "together with such uther incuragementis as the magistrates may give." This was an incentive not only for those who belonged to the National Church; but also for those who should "worschip God in any uther Gospell way, and behave themeselffis peaceablie and inoffensivilie thairin." 4 Three years later Parliament promised separatist ministers State support out of vacant stipends.⁵ These Declarations all proved helpful to Baptists, but were not acceptable to Presbyterians because of their latitude. Toleration was denounced and looked upon as a poisonous plant which should never be suffered to take root in a covenanted land.

After Cromwell had fully established himself in Scotland, the army of occupation was quartered in eighteen garrison towns, as well as in the citadels of Perth, Leith, Ayr, and Inverness. It is highly probable that small communities were organised in most of these places. The Baptist records during the Commonwealth are scant, and societies can be traced only in some of the principal centres. The story of those communities reads like a romance, and reveals steadfastness of courage and loyalty to conviction.

II

The church at Leith occupies a prominent place, and appears to have been the centre of some activity. It owed much of its freedom of action to Major-General Lillburne, at that time in command of the army in Scotland. From published correspondence we learn that the congregation was formed about 1652. A pamphlet of 1653 says that

¹ Acts of Assembly (1647), p. 10.

² See Pittillok, op. cit., p. 13; Nicoll: Diary, pp. 38, 39.

³ Nicoll: Diary, p. 83. ⁴ Ibid., p. 84. ⁵ Ibid., p. 167.

they met on alternate Sundays at Leith and Edinburgh. In those early days baptisms took place in the open, and Nicoll in his Diary for 1653 mentions some of these. "This yeir," he says, "Anabaptistes daylie increst in this nation, quhair nevir nane was of befoir, at leist durst not avow thameselffis, but now many maid oppin professioun thairof and avowit the same, sa that thryse in the oulk on Monday, Weddinsday, and Fryday, thair were sum dippit at Bonnynton Mill, betuix Leith and Edinburgh, both men and women of guid rank. Sum dayis thair wald be sundrie hundreth persones attending that actioun, and fyftene persones baptised in one day by the Anabaptistes." 2 Lamont indicates that among the converts was "Lady Craigie Wallace, a lady in the west countrey," 3-an entry which shows that Baptist views were not confined to any grade of society. Sir Charles Firth, referring to the open-air ceremonies, speaks of the onlookers as being "scandalised" at such scenes,4 but that did not prevent them from carrying out what they believed to be the express command of Christ.

The membership contained many soldiers belonging to the regiments stationed at Leith and Edinburgh, but Nicoll proves that many of the inhabitants had also united with them. The presence of so many soldiers brought the congregation into close touch with several churches in England. Thus a friendship sprang up between the Leith congregation and their southern brethren, particularly with those of Hexham and Fenstanton. Some of the army chaplains in Scotland belonged to the former place, who, hearing of the Leith church, attended the services, and acted as shepherds over the people in addition to performing their chaplain's duty. This freedom was due to the kindness of General Lillburne.

The church at Hexham first heard of the existence of the Leith congregation through one of their number, Edward Hickhorngill, whom they had ordained and sent as their minister to Scotland in 1652. The General received him graciously, and offered him a chaplaincy. While in that position he visited Leith, and was invited by the officers of the church to take the oversight of the flock, which, after some hesitation, he did,⁵ but owing to a change in his views regarding payment for ministerial work he soon resigned, and applied for another post.⁶ Hickhorngill's withdrawal left the Leith church without an overseer, and also created a vacancy in the army. As General Lillburne was anxious to employ gifted men as chaplains, he sent a request through Hickhorngill

¹ [Baptist] Confession of Faith, Leith (1683), Preface, p. 2.

² Nicoll, p. 106. ³ Lamont: *Diary*, p. 54.

⁴ Firth, Last Years of Protectorate, II, p. 102.

⁶ Douglas: Hist. of Northern Baptist Churches, p. 40. Records of Hexham and Fenstanton, pp. 311, 317. ⁶ Ibid., p. 332.

to Hexham, asking them to "send some qualified brother . . . as about this place there are divers honest Scots people that long to be gathered into the same Gospel order with us, but they want a faithful pastor." 1 Douglas thinks that the letter refers to a gathering at Dalkeith, where the army had its headquarters, but the movements of the Hexham messenger seem to indicate that Leith was intended. Thomas Stackhouse was sent, and he was welcomed by the General and the Baptist friends. He ministered for a time, and then returned to Hexham.

Hickhorngill proved a great disappointment, for he seems to have declined until he lost practically all interest in religious matters. Stackhouse was greatly troubled, and in a letter to Hexham referred to him as a "desperate atheist," and a man "wicked and blasphemous," "who troubles all that love the welfare of Zion." When asked to crave a blessing at supper he publicly replied that "his devotion was worn threadbare," and that he had "left his religion in England." The Leith brethren were grieved at the young man's defection, but they dealt wisely and promptly with the situation. They excommunicated the offender, and Hexham sent him a letter of admonition. This discipline had the desired effect, and in a letter from Perth, whither he had been sent as an officer, Hickhorngill conveyed to Hexham the news of his restoration. He confessed to his friends there that he had "hankered after novelties." 3

Another English church, that at Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire, was brought into contact with Leith, through the movements of Cromwell's soldiers. The editor of the Hexham and Fenstanton Records informs us that Thomas Disbrowe, one of its adherents, was a younger brother of Major-General Disbrowe, a brother-in-law of Oliver Cromwell.4

The communication of the Baptists in Leith, with those of a similar faith in England, must have been a source of encouragement and inspiration, especially at a time when their teaching was much opposed, and when united meetings for mutual fellowship with brethren from other places were not possible.

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As far back as October 1651, it is recorded that at a meeting of ministers in Edinburgh, some of the elders present gave it as their opinion that "children should not receive baptism till they could give a confession of their faith." 5 There is no record of a separate meetingplace at that early date, but two years later the Leith congregation

¹ Records of Hexham and Fenstanton, p. 317. ² Ibid., p. 330.

³ Ibid., p. 332.

⁴ Ibid., p. 164.

⁵ Douglas, History, p. 37.

met on alternate Sundays at the Tolbooth of Edinburgh,¹ although there does not appear to have been a regular church organisation. Several of the State public officials were Baptists, and these may have worshipped in Edinburgh.

There was also a community at Perth, for a postscript to Hickhorngill's letter to Hexham in 1653 speaks of the "brethren of this place being in good health." General Overton was Governor of the city for a period, and being a staunch Baptist, we may be certain he would give every encouragement to them. Hickhorngill was a lieutenant in one of the regiments stationed at Perth, and having been a chaplain, it is possible that he acted as their minister. The church does not seem to have been numerically strong, but it made itself felt, for George Fox in his Scottish itinerary of 1657 came into contact with some of its members, and heard their "jangling and disputation." His reference shows that the society had been in existence for at least four years.

In the county of Fife there are also traces of Baptist activity. Lamont informs us that at Cupar, where Colonel Fairfax's regiment was stationed, the chaplain baptised several soldiers in the Eden in 1652.⁴ Another bit of evidence comes from the Cupar Kirk Session Records for 1658, in which we find that "Christin Myllar was excommunicated for contumaciouslie persisting in Anabaptisme and uther errours." ⁵

In Ayr a certain Captain Spence gathered twenty-three privates and corporals belonging to his company, and formed them into a Baptist society; these may have met in one of the rooms belonging to the fort and received the ministrations of the chaplain. Several prominent Baptist officers, including Major Bramston, Major Holmes, and General Overton, were stationed at different times at the Ayr citadel, and their presence must have been a stimulus to the little company.

In Aberdeen there was much activity, for some of the leading Baptists were stationed there. Bishop Burnet in his *History* refers to their coming. "I remember well," he says, "three regiments coming to Aberdeen. There was an order and discipline and a face of gravity and piety in them that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists; they were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved." ⁶ The Baptist soldiers in Aberdeen had the celebrated English preacher, Samuel Oates, as their chaplain, and there can be no doubt that his zeal and ability contributed to the success of the movement in the granite city. Among those influenced were leading ministers. Lamont speaks of two, John Row, who afterwards became principal of King's College,

¹ [Leith] Confession of Faith, Preface.

³ Fox: Journal, p. 406.

⁵ Ibid, p. 49, footnote.

² Hexham Records, p. 332.

⁴ Lamont: Diary, p. 49.

⁶ Burnet, op. cit., I, p. 103.

and John Meinzies, both of whom "turned Anabaptists, and refused to baptise infants at all." Pittillok confirms the case of Meinzies, but is silent regarding Row, though he speaks of Mrs Rue (Row) as being a Baptist.¹ The rumours concerning Principal Row and his wife appear to have been false, for in a letter to his brother in May, 1652, Row contradicts the reports.² How they became current it is difficult to say. Row indeed became an Independent, for we find him along with other Dissenters sharing in a movement to have the ordinances administered in a purer way—an attempt which may have given rise to the rumour of his baptism.³ The view of the editor of Row's *History of the Kirk* is that the reports may have been based upon the story recorded by Spalding in November 1643, when Row refused to baptise an infant because it had not been brought to him when he was baptising a few others.4 But it is doubtful if an action of 1643 would be wholly responsible for rumours current in 1652. At any rate, the reports are not without significance, for they show that at least some interest had been created. Baptist influence extended beyond the limits of the city, for at least two ministers in the surrounding districts became converts. Pittillok mentions William Youngson, minister of Doors (Durris), and John' Forbes, minister of Kincardine, who "both declared themselves Baptists." ⁵ Baptists seem to have taken a deep interest in the educational life of the city, for those of the English army, along with other officers, subscribed to the fund required to erect the famous "Cromwellian Tower" at King's College, an act which must have won the approbation of the public.6

There are a few references to the more rural and scattered districts of Scotland. Lady Craigie-Wallace from the west country is believed to have been the widow of Hew Wallace, younger, of Craigie, Auchinleck, Ayrshire. In Nicoll's Diary for 1651 we read of "ane callit Thomas Charteris of Stenhous (Stonehouse), manteining anabaptisme, wald not baptise infants." 7 Before going to Stonehouse, Charteris had been in Edinburgh, where he doubtless came into contact with Baptists. He obtained from the English commissioner the rich living of Kilbride,8 where he formed a congregation of about thirty of them. The appointment caused much annoyance to Robert Baillie, who described it as a "fearful oppression and of most pernicious example," and characterised Charteris as "greedy and worldly." His end was most calamitous.

¹ Pittillok: Hammer of Persecution, pp. 9, 13.

² Spalding: Transactions, pp. 533, 539.

³ Jaffray: Diary, p. 48.

⁴ Spalding, p. xlvii, footnote. ⁵ Pittillok, p. 9.

⁶ Rait: Universities of Aberdeen, p. 241.

⁸ Ibid., p. 94. 7 Nicoll, p. 94.

and Baillie's reference to it is not kindly—"When nobody could get order of him, God put to His hand, and easily killed him. Clapping a horse in the kirkyard on Saturday at night, the horse strake him on the breast, of which being tormented all night, he died in the morning without repentance for any of his public offences." Charteris had ministered to his congregation for about four years.

A reference in the Hexham records is made to Edward Lymburgh, one of their number stationed at Jedburgh, who was probably a soldier, although there is no reference to army life in his letter. In writing to his home church, he said that he had been sent north by Providence, and asked them to pray for him as he felt his isolation very keenly, not having found opportunity for Christian fellowship.² There also seems to have been Baptists as far north as Sutherlandshire, for a letter was written to the "soldiers in the garrison at Holmdell (Helmsdale), in Sutherlandshire, by William Packer." A reply, entitled In Opposition to those Dipping Themselves in Water, was made to it by Jonas Dell, a soldier. In it the author describes the Baptists as "free-will dippers," and accuses them of adhering too closely to the letter of the Word, and of ignoring the spirit of it. He concludes by saying that the original mode of baptism is no longer necessary.

IV

In the propagation of their principles the Commonwealth Baptists made use of the printing-press. In 1653 they reprinted at Leith two pamphlets bound in one—A Confession of Faith, of the severall Congregations or Churches of Christ, which are commonly (though unjustly) called Anabaptists—which had been issued at London in 1644; and Heart-Bleedings for Professors Abominations, a London publication of 1651. On the title page the pamphlet gives the reason for the publication as "vindication of the truth, and information of the ignorant." The Confession contains fifty numbered paragraphs, covering all the articles of Christian belief and practice. In Heart-Bleedings various errors are examined.

The Thurloe State Papers refer to another booklet issued by the Leith Baptists a few years later. A letter of 1658 from one of Cromwell's intelligence officers states that the "Anabaptists have presented many with a new booke containing all their strongest arguments against pædobaptism. The manner of the binding of the booke is to rowle up like some alminake fit for the pockitt, so that it might be ready for guards

¹ Baillie: Letters, III, pp. 322-3.

² Hexham Records, p. 301.

or elsewhere." ¹ In the same year Cromwell ordered the Council of Scotland to "prohibit the use of printing-presses as they see cause." It was evident that the Baptist booklet was intended for private circulation, and as seditious parties might circulate their views in the same way, Cromwell thought fit to keep a close watch on the press.

In 1652 Robert Pittillok issued from his quarters at Leith, A Short Brotherly Examination of a Sermon Preached by Salomon Saffery and Published in Print Intituled Part of a Discourse tending to Dissuade from Infant Baptism. Whether Salomon Saffery was an associate of the Leith church we are not certain, as his sermon has not been preserved.

V

The appointment of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector caused a serious division in the ranks of the Scottish Baptists, for many of them held strong republican views, and their attitude became one of opposition to him. Letters of a seditious nature passed between officers, and clandestine meetings were held. To counteract these activities Cromwell instituted a system of espionage, and through the vigilance of intelligence officers some letters were intercepted, and their writers punished. Several leading Baptist officers were implicated, including General Overton, Major Holmes, Major Harrison, Major Bramston, Captain Hedworth, and the Rev. Samuel Oates. It appears that a letter, asking whether they were satisfied with their present condition, was drawn up at Aberdeen, and sent to supporters in other garrisons, calling them to a meeting to be held at "Edinburgh on New Year's Day, 1655, at 4 o'clock, at the Green Dragon in the Canongate." It was addressed to "Major Holmes to be communicated to our Christian friends in General Monk's Regiment." 2 The letter fell into the hands of Colonel Wilkes of Leith, who examined several of the officers who had signed the paper. In his examination of Oates he learned that Overton had read the document and had given his approval of it. The charge against Overton was strengthened by the discovery of another letter in his case, which contained a caricature of the Protector. Monk also accused him of abetting the cause of Charles Stuart.³ To aid Charles Stuart seemed inconsistent with the views of a republican, and if the General had any connection with the Cavaliers it must have been to frustrate Cromwell's design. Although he denied having any royalist sympathies, and disclaimed any attempt to divide the army, he was convicted of sedition, and sent to the Tower of London. The other

¹ Op. cit., VII, p. 371.

rebellious officers were also severely dealt with. Oates was dismissed from the army and imprisoned. Major Holmes was involved in a riot at Ayr, but as he was a good officer, Monk asked Cromwell to reinstate him, which he did. Major Harrison was dismissed.

Those Baptist officers were hostile to Cromwell when he became Lord Protector, and adhered rigidly to the republican form of government, not merely because of political preference, but because they believed the Commonwealth was more conducive to the realisation of their religious hopes. They held the views of "The Fifth Monarchy Men," a sect which succeeded in gaining many followers amongst Baptists and other Independents in both civil and military circles. It is evident that several of the English Baptist officers and soldiers serving in Scotland welcomed the Commonwealth, and fought for its establishment, believing that it prepared the way for the coming of Christ and the setting up of His earthly kingdom. But when Cromwell became Lord Protector, all their hopes of an immediate Messianic kingdom perished. "They objected to the Protectorate, because it was a government set up by a single person. The only government with a single person at its head which they could conscientiously support was the Fifth Monarchy, or Kingdom of Christ." 1

The Baptist churches in Scotland, as church organisations, showed no opposition to the Protectorate. They rather regretted the hostile actions of some of their members, and felt constrained to assure Cromwell of their loyalty. This was done in a pamphlet published on behalf of the "Rebaptised churches at St Johnstounes, Leith and Edinburgh," containing an address to the Protector for their "vindication from having any hand in the late design of some officers against your Highness." It was printed at Edinburgh in 1655 under the title of The Humble Address of the Baptised Churches, consisting of officers, soldiers and others. walking in Gospel Order at Leith, Edinburgh and St Johnstounes [Perth]. Fifteen signatures were appended.² Another letter appeared later, and was evidently intended as a reply to the Humble Address. It was written by Major Bramston, who was a prominent republican. Its title was Reasons against Communion with those who signed the Address, and the writer proposed to excommunicate all those who pledged their loyalty to the Protector.³ These political intrigues doubtless caused serious cleavage in the various Baptist communities, and must have reduced their strength and influence. They made further progress wellnigh impossible.

The violent opposition he encountered led Cromwell to adopt severe

¹ Dr L. F. Brown: Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 44.

² Firth: Scotland and Protectorate, p. 252. Politicus Mercurius, Feb. 8-15, 1654-5.

³ Clarke MSS., XXVII, 33. Clarke MSS., L, 92

measures, by which the whole community suffered. In 1658 he ordered the Council in Scotland to "see that no Baptist holds any office of trust, nor practises at law, nor keeps a school." General Monk had no sympathy with them, and the Protector's ordinance gave him the opportunity of getting rid of them. Guizot says that "armed with the power of a conqueror [he] used it with severity. The Anabaptists were repressed." Though loyal members of the Baptist churches had pledged their allegiance to Cromwell, it seems to have made no difference, for they also came under the ban of the ordinance of 1658. Monk purged the army of Baptist officers and secured them in Tantallon Castle, and those in public positions were dismissed. Robert Pittillok, writing in 1659, gives a graphic account of what the Baptists in Scotland had to endure in common with other Independents:

"There was but one Commissary for Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Baptist judgment, Mr Claud Hamilton, who was removed from Edinburgh to Striveling, and thereafter driven from all. Mr Dundas, supervisor to the Messengers, a Baptist, was likewise removed without fault. There was but one Sherriff clerk and keeper of seasings [sasines] a Baptist in all Scotland, Mr Archibald Weir; and he was pursued as a drunkard (albeit innocent and of a blameless conversation) and a contemner of ordinances; under which suffering in the grief of his spirit he died. There was but one Clerk to the Peace of this judgment, Mr Alex. Dick, who was forced to part with the interest he had in the clerkship of the Commissariat of Hadington. . . . There was but one schoolmaster of this judgment, Mr David Pearsone, and he was forced to go to England to purchase a livelihood, where in his grief he died at Newcastle. There was but one collector for the public, James Lindsay, of this judgment, and he was laid aside. . . .

"Concerning ministers and such as were students of divinity, this was the consequence: . . . Mr Meinzies returned to his old practice. Mr Youngstone had another minister put in his place over his head by his lord patron, whereupon he was forced to sell a little inheritance he had, and thereafter died of grief. Mr Forbes was threatened with the loss of his livelihood and sentence of excommunication, and died under the burden

of his grief. . . .

"Lastly, we offer to prove, he hath not only secluded these, but also declared in presence of several witnesses, Gilbert Gardin of Tullyfrusckie, and William Dundas, late supervisor to the messengers [both Baptists] incapable of any place whatsoever; of whom the first is known to be pious, able, and of a blameless conversation, who merely for conscience' sake, about seventeen years since, suffered the sentence of excommunication by the National Ministry in Scotland; and since for the same cause close imprisonment by their power for above a year's space and a half, in which he was put in the most disgraceful place among the whores, thieves, murderers and witches; and when extremity of sickness threatened him with death, neither

¹ S. P. Dom (1658), p. 876. ³ Heath: Chronicle, p. 461.

² Memoirs of Monk, p. 81.

physicians nor his friends were admitted to visit him; and thereafter he was confined five years, to the great ruin and destruction of his estate by this and other oppressions, partly open and partly secret, without the least tincture of guilt laid to his charge, except the following the light of his conscience. The other was in office six or seven years formerly without being questioned for ignorance, negligence, or infidelity in his office, or blame in his conversation to this day, albeit he be likewise excommunicated for following the light of his conscience." ¹

VI

The last years of the Protectorate and the first of the Restoration period must have been an anxious time for Scottish Baptists. The English army left Edinburgh in November 1659, and the churches would be depleted of all their soldier members. After the Restoration active Baptist life in Scotland disappeared. Several reasons might be given for this result.

The divisions caused by divergent politico-religious views were a serious handicap. The sedition and intrigue of so many Baptist officers split up the societies into a number of smaller groups, leaving them unfit for any united aggressive effort, and removing all hope of consolidation. The measures taken against them were most rigorous. Cromwell gave them some encouragement at first, but latterly opposed and persecuted them. Monk repressed the Baptists, but the measures of Charles II were sterner still. In January 1661 proclamation "to apprehend any such persons as shall frequent such meetings" was made at the market crosses of the Royal Burghs against both Quakers and Anabaptists; and in 1662 it was ordered that the "parents of any child unbaptised after thirty days" should be subject to heavy fines. These extreme measures drove many Baptists from the country, and many may have renounced their beliefs. They were comparatively few in number when the English soldiers left. Their scattered condition was also against them. Had some kind of church association been possible, with united gatherings at stated intervals for mutual helpfulness, it might have held them together for a much longer period, even although they had no leaders.

The movement in the seventeenth century was thus of short duration, but it was not altogether fruitless. The Commonwealth Baptists were characterised by their evangelistic fervour, and the evidence shows that they endeavoured to make known the truth of the Gospel wherever they went. While the Scots people as a whole did not accept their ideas of baptism and church independence, they nevertheless received

¹ Pittillok, op. cit., pp. 11, 13.

spiritual and other benefits through them. Cromwell's Baptist soldiers were interested in education, justice, and civic improvement. Schools were built and extended, sanitary measures were adopted in the towns, vice was repressed and punished, and justice was administered with efficiency and impartiality.

